blood and die. The father is under no food restriction. The infant is given the breast very shortly after birth and is permitted to drink the colostrum /ĭspi/: /ĭs-/ 'clear' /pi/ 'water' 'liquid.' For the first month, the child is given only the breast. He is fed "on demand" providing it is convenient to the mother; for example, if the infant is being held at the time he wishes to be nursed, he is indulged. If, however, the child should be crying while his mother is engaged in some task that requires standing or the use of both hands, his cries are ignored. Also, if the mother is busy in another part of the room, the infant is likewise required to wait for the fulfillment of his needs.

By the end of the second month the mother may do some light work in the monte. The infant is never taken along when the mother goes to work outside; instead, he is left in the care of a sibling or older female relative. The child is fed kulada which is prepared from crushed, dried, green plantain, sugar, and water. If a lactating woman is present, she may give the infant her breast. The child may be nursed for three years unless he is usurped from the breast

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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by a new sibling. Weaning is gradual; however, the child is also told that an animal will come to eat him if he continues to suck which frightens him and hastens his loss of interest in the breast. From about the age of four months he is given supplementary foods and by the age of three years he eats everything. Women who are unable to nurse apply a poultice to their breasts. This poultice is made of lechera, a weed with a milky sap; this is done in the vain hope of stimulating lactation. The neighboring Negro women wean their infants at one year, and when opportunity affords, they chide the Cayapa women about their protracted nursing. This is beginning to have some effect, and a few women now wean their children by one year.

When a woman dies in childbirth, the child may be given to another woman who is lactating. Some feel that "the child dies anyway as the spirit of the dead mother will kill it." On the other hand, the infant can be taken directly to the ceremonial center where earth from the mother's grave is thrown at it at the time of her burial. If this ritual is practiced, two men stand on opposite sides of the grave passing the infant back and forth five or six times. This, it is

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children, after about the age of six, defecate in the river or in the monte behind the house. As soon as an infant is able to sit, he is placed over the women's and girl's urination hole to defecate. He is not permitted to return to the comfort of the house until he has done so. The weather may be somewhat inclement, it may be dark, the child may howl and scream, he may decide to withhold his feces in defiance of parental command, but no leniency is shown. He must sit out on the causeway, alone, miserable, afraid or defiant, and only after he defecates, is he removed and brought into the house where he may be rewarded with the breast. By the time the child is two years old, he is trained, or perhaps, a better word, broken. Understandably, most Cayapa show an extraordinarily negative reaction to the sight of feces. One day four young boys, ranging in age from about ten to fourteen, came to visit just as my infant son defecated. The boys stopped in their tracks and one, pointing to the mess on the floor, shouted, "/pe/" 'feces,' whereupon they fled.

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If no new sibling has arrived, the Cayapa infant is permitted to nurse at the breast for about three years.

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[The Negroes, however, wean their children after one year, and some Cayapa women are beginning to imitate them.] Weaning is accomplished by shaming or ridiculing the child, or frightening him with stories of cannibalistic ogres, or applying bitter tasting substances to the nipple.

The Cayapa child between the ages of three to five is marked by what appears to be incipient rickets, rotted teeth and skin diseases that arise from a marked deficiency in vitamins A, C and D. This stems in major part from the fact that the child is generally kept within the confines of the home at these ages. The Cayapa house is usually built without walls; it is a roof supported by tall posts, and is perched above the ground on a hill overlooking a river. If the infant should manage to climb down the ladder to the ground, and somehow avoid tumbling down the hill into the river, he must still contend with snakes that are fairly common in the area. Consequently his movements within the house are restricted and he is effectively blocked off from direct sunlight and on canoe trips he is usually placed under a canopy. While fruit is plentiful, it is

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homosexotic play is evident during fleeing and, because of the low male sex drive, may be the substitute.

During Cayapa infancy and early childhood, children are subjected to extremely harsh sphincter training long before the anal musculature is mature enough for voluntary control. At the same time, they are permitted to nurse freely. The coincidence of the harsh toilet training and the availability of the breast leads to an intensification of oral gratification and a positive psychosexual fixation at this stage. We have already described the toilet training of the Cayapa infant and child, and discussed the extraordinarily negative reaction to the sight of feces on the part of adolescents. The fact that the child is often permitted almost immediately to suck the nipple after having gone through a truly frightening experience involving defecation as described above, structures the peculiarly poignant oral fixation of the Cayapa infant and gives a heightened intensity. The oral fixation derived from anal frustration at such a very early period, is the psychological equivalent of oral frustration and is later intensified by the weaning practices. Weaning is accomplished by

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shaming, ridicule, the application of bitter tasting substances, or frightening the child with stories of cannibalistic ogres.7 Thus, within the psychoanalytic framework, the seeds of dependency drinking are sown and begin to develop.

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> . . . bral frustrations in the infant result in cannibalistic fantasies toward the mother's breast and her total person. Because the child projects its feelings and fantasies, it also views the external world as cannibalistic and develops fears of objects in it. This results in an unconscious fear of being devoured by the love object. The vagina, which is unconsciously equated with the mouth, comes to represent the castrating, devouring organ. Such anticipations result in avoidance of the heterosexual object . . . (Bieber 1962:6-7).

For the Cayapa, the equation of vagina:mouth is not at all unconscious. The vagina dentata motif is clearly present, and sexual intercourse is spoken of as the vagina eating the penis. As for cannibalistic fantasies, they still exist in the stories that the Cayapa tell of the wild Indians who lived in the area before them; these Indians were cannibals and preyed on the Cayapa. The fantasies are also used to manipulate events. When I first explored the Cayapa area up to the Río Tigre, I decided to do my work among the Cayapa of the San

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